

# Lost in transmission: The case of the Pahlavi-Vīdēvdād manuscripts<sup>1</sup>

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## Abstract

All extant Pahlavi-Vīdēvdād (PV) manuscripts derive from a single copy. The binding of this copy was damaged early on, and some folios were lost and others displaced. A detailed analysis of the extant manuscripts allows us to reconstruct the original order and to discover where some folios are lost, but in previous editions (especially of the Pahlavi translation), this fact was not always noted appropriately and numerous errors occurred. Moreover, other typical transmission errors in this common source have slipped into all extant PV manuscripts and caused omissions of several fragments of the Avestan text and its Pahlavi translation, hence the importance of the Sādes for the edition of the Avestan text of the Vīdēvdād. Geldner was, unfortunately, too confident in the quality of the PV manuscripts and omitted from his edition Avestan texts that should have been included. But not every difference between the Avestan text of the Sāde and Pahlavi manuscripts can be attributed to the transmission. One of the most important differences is the omission of *fragard* 12 in the Pahlavi-Vīdēvdād manuscripts. Since its omission cannot be attributed to transmission, an alternative explanation for this important difference is proposed.

Alongside the Yasna, the Vīdēvdād is the most popular Avestan text. This is probably due to the fact that it is the text of one of the most frequently performed rituals and that it is permitted to read from a written text during the celebration of a Vīdēvdād ceremony, as the New Persian Rivāyats record. The frequency of ritual performance and the possibility of reading parts of the text during the ceremonies indeed explain the large number of extant copies of the Vīdēvdād Sāde

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manuscripts and the continuous tradition of copying these manuscripts. From the sixteenth century on, we have several copies of Vīdēvdād Sāde (VS) manuscripts from each century.

Pahlavi-Vīdēvdād (PV) manuscripts were very frequently copied in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although this cannot be attributed to the popularity of the Vīdēvdād ritual ceremony. The number of PV manuscripts copied during these centuries is far in excess of that of earlier times. The distribution of the copies of the PV over time is somewhat disconcerting: we do not know of any manuscripts copied during the fifteenth or seventeenth centuries. From the thirteenth century on, we know of the following: in 1205, the copy of Ardaxšīr Wahman Rōzweh in Sīstān, and an even earlier copy of its source manuscript by Homāst Wahišt; in 1323 L4; in 1324 K1; in 1353 Mihrābān's copy of L4; in 1575 IM; in 1594 M13. The majority of dated manuscripts are from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: D62 was written in 1742; P5 and P10 in 1758; G25 in 1794; F10 in 1817; G34 before 1835; T44 in 1844; R404 in 1820–50. The rest of the known PV manuscripts are undated, but presumably most date from the eighteenth century.

The available PV manuscripts, with the exception of L4 and K1, form a fairly homogeneous group: they are all derived from L4 and K1, which in turn are derived from a single manuscript, Rōstam Mihrābān Marzabān's copy of an earlier version written by Ardaxšīr Wahman Rōzweh. Since the lost manuscript IM<sup>2</sup> also goes back to the same copy by Ardaxšīr Wahmān Rōzweh, the result is that all known manuscripts (including IM) go back to a single manuscript, itself a copy of the manuscript of Homāst Wahišt. This is evident not only from the information in the colophons, but also from the internal analysis of the manuscripts, as demonstrated by some common transmission errors and omissions. This implies that transmission errors (including missing and displaced pages) in the manuscripts of Homāst Wahišt or Ardaxšīr Wahman slipped into all known manuscripts and that similar errors in Rōstam Mihrābān Marzabān's copy could have slipped into all except IM. Although this fact has important consequences for the edition of the Avestan text and, especially, of the PT, it has often been overlooked by modern editors.

## **Damage to the binding of the common source of all extant PV manuscripts**

The greatest difficulty in editing the text of the PV is caused by the loss of one or more pages in the common source of all extant manuscripts. Wherever one or more pages were lost in Ardaxšīr's or Homāst's manuscript, the Avestan text itself and the PT are lost forever in this tradition. In such cases the Avestan text can be restored with the help of the manuscripts of the VS tradition, but not the PT.

Difficulties also originate from the displacement of pages in the common source. Some displacement from the old binding of the copies of Homāst

2 IM is a PV manuscript used by Jamasp for his edition of Vīdēvdād, but not by Geldner. Its present location is unknown.

Wahišt or Ardaxšīr Wahman has slipped into all extant manuscripts. Later copyists reproduced the disorder without noticing that some pages were bound at the wrong place. Some such errors, especially those concerning the Avestan text, are easy for modern editors to recognize because we have the touchstone of the Sādes. Since there is no similar touchstone for the PT the reconstruction of the correct order is not always obvious. Whenever a mislaid page began midway through a PT text and was introduced in the wrong place after a page which also ended with some PT text, when later copyists copied the pages continuously, modern editors had serious difficulties in ascertaining where the original first page ended and the wrongly introduced following one began. Only an internal analysis of the PT texts could lead to the identification of the precise points at which the wrong page began and ended. In several instances, modern editors of the PT have failed to reconstruct the correct order.

This kind of transmission error, common to all extant Avestan manuscripts, is concentrated in *fragard* 18. Several folios were bound at the wrong place in Homāst Wahišt's or Ardaxšīr Wahman's copies, and doubtless a complete folio of this *fragard* has been lost. In K1 and L4, *fragard* 18 is largely disordered. Once this confusion is noted, the restoration of the Avestan text becomes easy with comparison to the VS, but the restoration of the PT is not. This has led to a totally incorrect edition of the PT by Jamasp and others.

A detailed analysis of the disordered texts of K1 and L4 reveals that in the original manuscript, after its incorrect rebinding, the order of the folios was as follows: 1,<sup>3</sup> 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 5, 14, 3, 4, 16 et seq. Three folios (3, 4, 5) were separated from the manuscript and bound in the wrong place. Folio 2v ended in 18.7 *paiti. mām. ərəzuuō. pərəsaŋ<sup>v</sup>ha* LAWHL OL. Folio 3, beginning with MN L 'pyck pwlsyh, appears after folio 14, ending in turn with Av. 18.51 *vīduš.gāθəm. vīduš.yasnəm. paiti.parštō.srauuānhəm. mązdrəm. haða.hunarəm. tanu.mąθrəm.* and the first words of its PT 'k's g's'n' W 'k's. It is obvious that MN L 'pyck pwrsyh is the continuation of the PT of *paiti. mām. ərəzuuō. pərəsaŋ<sup>v</sup>ha*, which begins with LAWHL MN at the end of folio 2. After MN L 'pyck pwrsyh there follows the gloss: 'y plšn' 'pdwm YHWWNt APš PWN HNA d'št AYK OL HT MEš-1 BRA KTLWN't "This was the last question. He considered: 'Probably nothing will remain (to ask)'. Nevertheless Jamasp (1907: 592) and Anklesaria (1949: 364) edit this text as a gloss of the PT of V18.51. Anklesaria takes the Avestan text *paiti. parštō.srauuānhəm. mązdrəm. haða.hunarəm. tanu.mąθrəm* that follows the gloss as part of the PT as well, since it lacks a PT. However, this is clearly the Avestan text of V18.51. Its lack of PT permits another explanation, as I shall show later.

Manuscript G25 has rearranged this Avestan text correctly:

LAWHL MN L 'pyck pwlsyh 'y plšn' 'ptwm YHWWNt APš PWN HNA  
d'št AYK OL HT MEš-1 BRA KTLWN't

3 If folio 1 is taken as the first folio of V18.

In E10 and T44 the text of V18 is rearranged as in G25. Nevertheless, in E10 *paiti. mqm. ərəzuuō. pərəsan<sup>y</sup>ha* remains untranslated and T44 shows only LAWHL MN.

A similar mistake was made by Jamasp and Anklesaria at the end of folio 4. This folio ends with V18.11 *naēda.ciš. caθβārō. x<sup>v</sup>atō. zaiiaṇte* PT dwtygl 'wzw'n dlhn'y stygl. Folio 5 appears after folio 13. It begins with LA MNDOM tswm NPŠE SGYTWNyt AYK NPŠE YHWWNyt (obviously the PT of the end of V18.11) and follows with V18.12 *yō. aēuuahe. ašaoṇahe. ayahe*. Folio 13 ends in the middle of the long Pahlavi commentary of V18.44 with the words *gwgwšsp gwpt 'y AMT k'l d'tyh' hwp wc'lyt APš ašām vohū*. The editors of the PT have not realized that the beginning of folio 5 (LA MNDOM tswm NPŠE SGYTWNyt AYK NPŠE YHWWNyt) is the continuation of the PT of V8.11 and have taken it for part of the long commentary of V18.44. Accordingly, Jamasp edits:

/a/ *aēuuahe. zī. ašaoṇahe. ayahe. anašāonō. zānu.drājā. asti. āfritiš. /b/ duuuiiā. hizu.drājā. θraiiqm. naēda.ciš. caθβārō. x<sup>v</sup>atō. zaiiaṇte.*  
ME 'ywk 'hlmwk y wtk y 'n'hlwb' 'š z'nwk dlhn'y AYT 'plyn' nplyn' /b/ dtygl 'wzw'n' stygl

Anklesaria edits like Jamasp, but at the end he adds in italics (as an addition): *nē-chis, chahārom khaṭ nifrīnēt*. In fact, the correct edition of the PT of V18.11 is:

/a/ ME 'ywk 'hlmwk y wtk y 'n'hlwb' 'š z'nwk dlhn'y AYT 'plyn' nplyn'  
/b/ dtygl 'wzw'n' stygl LA MNDOM tswm NPŠE SGYTWNyt AYK NPŠE YHWWNyt

The skills of the “editors” of the PT in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were superior to those of Anklesaria and Jamasp. In G25 and E10 we find exactly the expected PT of V18.11b:

dtygl 'wzw'n' stygl LA MNDOM tswm BNPŠE SGYTWNyt AYK NPŠE YHWWNyt<sup>4</sup>

Either they recognized the correct order of the disordered manuscripts (which is most likely) or they had access to manuscripts from a different tradition. In T44 a new PT for the missing parts has been created:

dtygl 'wzw'n' stygl 3 LNE MNDWM tb'h OBYDWNyt ch'lwm hwl ld

On the other hand, Jamasp and Anklesaria edited LA MNDOM tswm NPŠE SGYTWNyt AYK NPŠE YHWWNyt at the end of the long commentary of V18.44. Its last sentence is edited as follows:

4 E10 YHHWN't.

gwgwšsp gwpt 'y AMT k'l d'tyh' hwp wc'lyt APš ašəm LA MNDOM  
tswm NPŠE SGYTNWYt AYK NPŠE YHWWNYt

Anklesaria did not attempt to translate the last part of the gloss. The final part of the long Pahlavi commentary appears at the beginning of folio 14, mentioned previously, which ends with 18.51 *vīduš.gāθəm. vīduš.yasnəm. paiti.parštō. srauuayhəm. mązdrəm. haða.hunarəm. tanu.mąθrəm.* and the first words of its PT 'k's g's'n' W 'k's. It is very likely that folio 14 began with *vohū. vahištəm* 3, after *usəhišta* (the first word of V18.16) and before the beginning of V18.45. Accordingly, the end of the long commentary in V18.44 should be edited as follows:

gwgwšsp gwpt 'y AMT k'l d'tyh' hwp wc'lyt APš ašəm *vohū vahištəm* 3  
Gōgušasp says: If he performs the action lawfully and correctly, he  
(recites) three *ašəm vohū vahištəm*'

This opinion of Gōgušasp contrasts with Sōšans' opinion that the Ahuna Vairia is to be recited, and with the opinion of another exegete that it is the whole Abastāg. A similar ending of the Pahlavi gloss is found in the manuscripts T44, G25 and E10:

gwgwšsp gwpt 'y AMT k'l d'tyh' hwp wc'lyt APš ašəm *vohū*

The rest of the disordered folios in V18 fortunately began within the Avestan text, so that no further texts have been edited wrongly. Folio 6, placed after folio 2, continues with V18.16 *mašiiāka. staoiṭ. ašəm. yaṭ. vahištəm. nīsta.* There is no further alteration of the correct order of the folios until folio 13, which ends, as mentioned above, with the last part of the long commentary of V18.44 (gwgwšsp gwpt 'y AMT k'l d'tyh' hwp wc'lyt APš ašəm *vohū*). Folio 14 follows, although folio 5 is placed in between.

Folio 14 begins with the last words of the PT of V18.44. At the end of this folio the PT of V18.51 is interrupted, and the PT of V18.7 follows (folio 3 according to my numeration). For the Avestan text V18.51 *vīduš.gāθəm. vīduš.yasnəm. paiti. parštō.srauuayhəm. mązdrəm. haða.hunarəm. tanu.mąθrəm.* only the first words ('k's g's'n' W 'k's) of the PT appear. But where could the continuation of the PT of V18.51 be found? Apparently, nowhere.

Geldner and others have noted that in the PV manuscripts paragraphs V18.52–58 are missing. In fact it is clear that one complete folio (folio 15 in my numeration) is missing. With this folio the end of the PT of V18.51 and the Avestan text and PT of V18.52–58 are irretrievably lost in the PV transmission. Folio 16, appearing after the accidental insertion of folios 3 and 4, began with the last words of V18.58 *anabdātō. vā.* Since the Avestan text of V18.59 follows, we cannot decide whether in the PT the last words of the Avestan text were not translated, but simply reproduced in Avestan, as Anklesaria supposes, or whether the last sentence of V18.59 did not have a PT. The first possibility cannot be ruled out, since *anabdātō* is a hapax legomenon. Nevertheless, the fact that *vā* is also reproduced in Avestan points to the possibility of the translation of these words being shortened, since it is a mere repetition of V18.54.

It is very interesting to compare how G25, T44 and E10 complete the missing folio. While in G25 the full Avestan text of V18.52–58 was completed and a new translation invented,<sup>5</sup> E10 and T44 only provide the Avestan text and (partially) the PT of V18.52–55. T44 and E10 translate V18.52 identically. Thereafter T44 provides only the Avestan text V18.53–54 and 18.59, while E10 translates most parts:

/18.53/ *kō. tē. aētaēšqm. aršnqm. tūiriiō.* /18.54/ *āaṭ. hē. hā. paiti.dauuata.*  
*yā. daēuui. druxš. sraoša. ašīia. huraōda.*  
 kt'l LK MN OLEš'n' gwšn'n tswm OL OLE p'shw dt MNW ŠDYA dlwc  
 AYK slwš'(h)lyy hwlwst  
*hō. bā. mē. aētaēšqm. aršnqm. tūiriiō.*  
 ZK pwl MN OLEš'n' gwšn'n tswm  
*yaṭ. nā. jahika. pasca. paṇcadāsīm. sarəḍəm. frapataiti.*  
 MNW GBRA z'h wtk'l AHL MN 15 ŠNT pr'c 'wptyt AYK wtk'lyh  
 OBYDWNt  
*anaiβiiāsta. vā. anabdātō. vā.*

Both manuscripts include only the text of V18.52–54 followed by V18.59. V18.55–58 is missing in both. This is most likely due to a *saut du même au même*, for V18.54 and 58 are identical. The error could have arisen independently in both manuscripts, but the further fact that E10 and T44 share a similar PT for 18.52 makes it likely that both manuscripts can be traced to a common source in which the *saut du même au même* had already happened. Hence, this common source must go back to a manuscript that had already completed the Avestan text of V18.52–58. Other manuscripts like Bh11 and G25 also include the missing text V18.55–58 and seem to be then independent from the common source of E10 and T44. Consequently, we can postulate a provisional sub-stemma for E10 and T44 as shown in Figure 1.

The missing folio was obviously lost in the common source of L4 and K1, the manuscript of Rōstam Mihrābān Marzabān. According to the indications of Jamasp (1907: 592), the manuscript IM omits both the Avestan text and the PT of V18.52–58. So this folio must have been lost already in the copy of Ardaxšīr Wahman ī Rōzweh (Sīstān, 1205).

The incorrect arrangement of at least some of the pages probably also goes back to the manuscript of Ardaxšīr Wahman Rōzweh. Again according to Jamasp (1907: 592), IM “gives [after the omission of V18.52–58] the Av. text with its PT of §60 and then adds *pərəsaṭ ...*”. The text he reproduces here is exactly the one that goes from V18.8 to the end of the folio I have numbered as folio 4, namely the end of V18.11 *naēda.ciš. caθβārō. x'atō. zaiiaṇte* PT dwtygl 'wzw'n dlhn'y stygl. The paragraph 60 mentioned by Jamasp is obviously the identical paragraph V18.7. So we can be sure that in the manuscript of Ardaxšīr Wahman ī Rōzweh folios 3 and 4 were placed after folio

5 In G25, folios 98–102, including V18.52–V18.61, are written by a second hand, although on the same kind of paper. The same happens in paragraph 12. These five folios have probably replaced one original folio containing the same text of V18.51 and V18.59–61 as in L4.

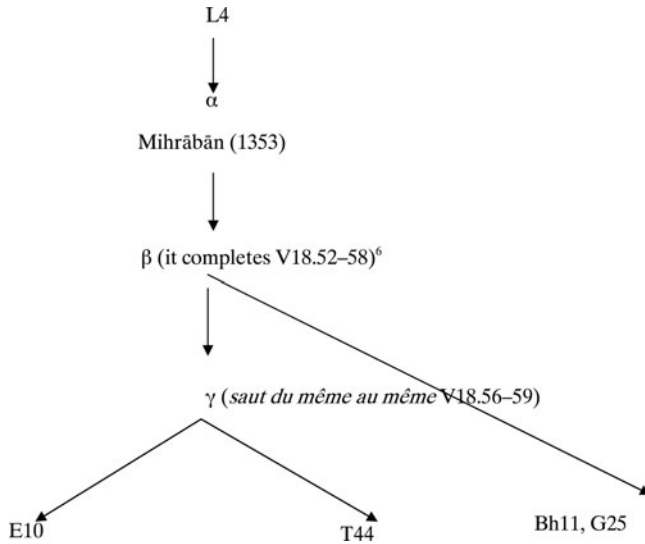


Figure 1. Provisional sub-stemma for E10 and T44

14, and folio 15 was missing. We have no information about the shape of other disarrangements in this *fragard* in IM, but the errors recorded in Jamasp's edition suggest that the other misplacements occurred in Ardaxšīr Wahman Rōzweh's copy or even before. In the thirteenth century, in the manuscript of Homāst Wahišt or Ardaxšīr Wahmān ī Rōzweh, several folios belonging to *fragard* 18 were already bound at the wrong place and a folio was lost. Since the concerned folios number approximately 16 it seems very likely that Homāst Wahišt's or Ardaxšīr Wahmān Rōzweh's manuscript was bound in quires of 16 folios, and that a quire fell out of the binding early on.

This was not the only damage in the binding of Homāst Wahišt's or Ardaxšīr Wahman Rōzweh's manuscript. It is well known (Cantera 2007: 135) that L4 and K1 omit the Avestan text and the PT of V 19.41 from the words *mərəjūtīm mašiiānqm* to V 19.44 *ayrō. mainiiuš*. In L4 and K1 the translation of *mərəjūtīm mašiiānqm* is followed by *daēuuō. nazdištāt*, in turn followed by V19.44 *pouru.mahrkō*... This is best explained by the fact that a folio was lost in the common ancestor of all extant PV manuscripts. The lost folio began with V19.41b *danhāuuō. yaoždāθriiāt. haca. frakaire.*, and the last words of the verso were *daēuuō. uiti. dauuata. hō. yō. duždā. ayrō. mainiiuš*. Since Jamasp does not mention IM among the manuscripts including this Avestan text and its PT, it seems likely that this folio was lost in the copy of Ardaxšīr Wahmān Rōzweh at the latest.

The Zoroastrian philological school in Gujarat during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries noticed this mistake in the transmission. The manuscripts

6 Theoretically β could have been the copy of Mihrābān (1353). That would mean that the custom of complete long omissions goes back to the fourteenth century, against the evidence of L4 and K1.



K2 and P5<sup>7</sup> from Surat complete the gap in the Avestan text and invent a new PT for it, and E10 (at the end of the manuscript after a blank page) and T44 from Navsārī also do so. G25 does not complete the gap, but it marks it with two red dots. Already in L4 and K1 there seems to be a minor correction of the transmitted text in order to make it comprehensible. The last words of the folio before the lost one were, according to L4 and K1, LAWHL OL wzlyš ☉ *daēuuō. nazdištāt*. In fact, *daēuuō* has no correspondence in the Sādes. Most likely the final words of the folio were LAWHL OL wzlyš ŠDYA ☉ *nazdištāt*. We expect the word *dēw* after the demon name *wizareš*, and it actually appears in G25. The transformation of Phl. ŠDYA into *daēuuō* was an adaptation in the common source of L4 and K1, in order to find a substantive for the adjective *pouru. mahrkō*. The old reading is restored in G25, where we find: LAWHL OL wzlyš ŠDYA ☉ *daēu nizištāt*. If this is true, it becomes obvious that already in the oldest copies of PV, even before L4 and K1, the copyists did not restrict themselves to making exact copies of the original, but tried to improve their copies in order to make the best possible manuscript. Their real purpose was not to reproduce the original exactly, but to produce the best possible copy of a text.

We do not have definite evidence of further lost folios in the common source of L4 and K1, and possibly of IM. But in at least one passage, one further folio was bound at the wrong place. L4 and K1<sup>8</sup> show the same disorder in *fragard* 3. The folio beginning in the midst of the gloss of V3.25c with “dwst zyd’nk mylk PWN ZK wstlk g’s ŠKBHWN’n”, and ending with the PT of V3.29a “hwłšn’ pwrššn’ l’d AYK ODm YHBWN’t”, was bound in a former copy after the folio ending in V3.32d *yaṭ gundō*. This again has consequences for the edition of the PT. Jamasp edits the PT of V3.25c as:

hwm’n’k OLE cygwn GBRA (MNW) dwst (zyd’nk OLE MNW) dwst  
zyd’nk (mylk) PWN ZK wstlk g’s ŠKBHWN’n’ BRE ’ywp gwnk QDM  
bld (’pwstn’ YHWWNyT ’ywp gwn y ŠPYL BRA YHWWNyT zmykc  
PWN bwn wyh BRA YHWWNyT ’ywp PWN bl).

Essentially the same text is edited by Anklesaria (1949: 54), although with some differences in the correspondences with the Avestan text:

*humânâ î-ôi chun mart (ke) dust î ziyâna (ôi ke dust î zîyâna mēra), pa  
(ân) (wi)stara-gâs (saṭīnan) pûsar a-k gôn awar-barêṭ, -(awôstan bawêṭ  
ayûp pa gôna vêh bê-bawêṭ; zamî-cha pa bûn vêh bê-bawêṭ ayûp pa bar)*  
like a man (who is) a friend of a damsel (he who is friend of the damsel  
is the husband), will bring-forth child or complexion, (lying on) (the)  
bed -(she will-be with-child or it will-be good for her complexion; it  
will-be good for the earth-too, either for the principal or income).

7 For more on these manuscripts see Cantera and Andrés Toledo 2008.

8 Although these folios of K1 are lost, most of the manuscripts depending on K1 show the same disorder as L4.



However, in the manuscripts we find a different text:

hwm'n'k y OLE cygwn<sup>9</sup> GBRA MNW dwst y zyd'nk OLE MNW  
MNDWM-1<sup>10</sup> YHBWNd.

Here one folio ends and the misplaced folio begins, which we find now after V3.32:

dwst zyd'nk mylk PWN ZK wstlk g's ŠKBHWN'n' BRE 'kny'n'<sup>11</sup> QDM  
bld 'pwstn' YHWWNy't 'ywp PWN gwn ŠPYL BRA YHWWNy't  
zmykc PWN bwn wyh BRA YHWWNy't 'ywp PWN bl.

The text *ciš-ē dahēnd* does not appear in the editions of the PT, either here or at the end of the PT V3.29a, although its presence in manuscripts of the family of both L4 and K1 assures its authenticity. Actually, it is difficult to understand these words in this passage, which Bartholomae characterized as “mangelhaft überliefert”. Without including these words the text is quite clear:

hwm'n'k y OLE cygwn<sup>12</sup> GBRA MNW dwst [y zyd'nk] OLE MNW  
>MNDOM-1 YHBWWNd< dwst zyd'nk mylk dwst zyd'nk mylk PWN  
ZK wstlk g's ŠKBHWN'n' BRE 'kny'n'<sup>13</sup> QDM bld.

Like the man, who is the lover of a girl, brings to the loved girl a son by laying together on the bed with her as a husband.

The insertion of MNDOM-1 YHBWWNd is very difficult at this point. The PT of V3.29a could be an alternative location for this text if we assume that the folio ended in MNW dwst y zyd'nk OLE MNW and the misplaced folio began with MNDOM-1 YHBWWNd. In this case the PT of V3.29a would be:

b'st'n' LTME YKOYMWN'y PWN OL ZK'y BBA y AYŠ'n hwlšn'  
pwrššn' l'd AYK ODm YHBWN't MNDWM-1<sup>14</sup> YHBWNd  
You are going to stand often at the door of someone begging for food [so  
that he gives (it) to me. They give something].

The linking of these sentences without a connective particle such as *ā-*, or *u-* raises suspicions. In any case, these words belong to the PT, either of V3.25c or of V3.29a. They must be edited here or there, and they seem to fit better into V3.29a.

- 9 L4a OLE-c sp.
- 10 F10; E10, B1, M3, P10 MNDOM-HD; T44 MN ZNE-HD; P2 MNDOM-H; L4 MN, L4a dwst zyd'nk mylk PWN ZK OLE.
- 11 L4; Jmp. \*ywp gwnk.
- 12 L4a OLE-c sp.
- 13 L4, F10, T44.
- 14 F10; E10, B1, M3, P10 MNDOM-HD; T44 MN ZNE-HD; P2 MNDOM-H; L4 MN, L4a dwst zyd'nk mylk PWN ZK OLE.

In summary, it is obvious that the binding of the manuscript copied by Ardaxšīr Wahman Rōzweh or Homāst Wahišt suffered some damage. Consequently, at least two pages towards the end of the manuscript (*fragards* 18 and 19) were lost. Particularly damaged were the folios containing *fragard* 18. Not only was one folio lost, but three others (3, 4, 5) were rebound in the wrong place, so that the resulting order was 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 5, 14, 3, 4, 16 et seq. It seems that one quire of 16 folios was separated from the manuscript early on, and that three of its folios were put in the wrong place and one, perhaps the last, was lost. Two quires further on a new folio containing V19.41–5 is missing.

### Omissions in all extant PV manuscripts due to scribal errors in their common source

Besides displaced or lost folios in the common ancestor of all extant Pahlavi manuscripts, including IM (at least sometimes), there are other omissions in the transmitted text of the PV manuscripts, due to the typical errors of written transmission, such as the *saut du même au même* or the skipping of a line. Omissions of the former type are very common. Sometimes Geldner has considered these omissions as original, and the text available in the Sādes as an addition, and sometimes not.

The most important of these omissions is found at the end of V11: here the PV shows the following sequence of exorcisms:

- 1.8 Ahuna Vairiia (V 11.8).
- 2.apotropaic formula *pārəne* + evil being (V 11.9–10).
- 3.4 Ahuna Vairiia (V 11.11).
- 4.apotropaic formula *paršta* + evil being (V 11.12–13).
- 5.4 mazdā. aṭ. mōi (V 11.14).
- 6.apotropaic formula *pārəne* + evil being (V 11.15–16).
- 7.5 Ahuna Vairiia (V 11.17).

In fact the VS manuscripts show a longer list, with two further paragraphs between V11.16 and 17. Obviously the Sādes version is correct, including the prescription of the recitation of 4 ā. airiēmā. išiiō and the apotropaic formula *paršta* + evil being, although Geldner edits this passage according to the PV manuscripts:

- 1.8 Ahuna Vairiia (V 11.8).
- 2.apotropaic formula *pārəne* + evil being (V 11.9–10).
- 3.4 Ahuna Vairiia (V 11.11).
- 4.apotropaic formula *paršta* + evil being (V 11.12–13).
- 5.4 mazdā. aṭ. mōi (V 11.14).
- 6.apotropaic formula *pārəne* + evil being (V 11.15–16).
- 1.4 ā. airiēmā. išiiō (V11.16').
- 2.apotropaic formula *paršta* + evil being (V11.16", 16").
- 3.5 Ahuna Vairiia (V 11.17).

In fact, the Ahuna Vairiia, *mazdā. aṭ. mōi* and ā. *airiēmā. išiiō* are the three prayers that are to be recited four times (V10.12). Thus this version of the

Sādes is more likely to be the right one. Geldner made his edition of this passage on the basis of the PV manuscripts and does not include the three paragraphs V11.16', 16" and 16". The omission in V11 is most likely the result of a *saut du même au même* in a very repetitive passage, especially if we consider that these paragraphs were probably shortened in the manuscripts, as in fact are V11.15–17.

The case of V16.8–9 is very similar. L4 and K1 show a very understandable omission in an (again) very repetitive passage. The correct version appears again in the Sādes:

16.8

*yezi. nāirika. vohunīš. aiβi.vaēnāt. yaṭ. hē. θrāiiō. xšafna. sacānte. airime. gātūm. hē. nišhiḍaēta. vīspəm. ā. ahmāt. yaṭ. hē. caθβārō. xšafna. sacānte. yezi. nāirika. vohunīš.*

*aiβi.vaēnāt. yaṭ. hē. caθβārō. xšafna. sacānte. airime. gātūm. hē. nišhiḍaēta. vīspəm. ā. ahmāt. yaṭ. hē. paṇca. xšafna. sacānte.*

16.9

*yezi. nāirika. vohunīš. aiβi.vaēnāt. yaṭ. hē. paṇca. xšafna. sacānte. airime. gātūm. hē. nišhiḍaēta. vīspəm. ā. ahmāt. yaṭ. hē. xšuuāš. xšafna. sacānte. yezi. nāirika. vohunīš*

In L4 and K1, we find a shorter text. The underlined text is missing from both manuscripts. As regards IM, there is no clear indication, but in this case IM probably included the missing text, since Jamasp does not mention this omission at all. This obvious mistake was noticed by most copyists, and they corrected it by adding the Avestan text and its PT. Even in very conservative manuscripts such as B1, M3 and P10 we find this addition, perhaps going back to their common source (an intermediate copy between these three manuscripts and K1). Even the most conservative copyists correct the transmitted text occasionally, when they are certain there is a mistake or an omission. This makes the use of omissions and additions in establishing the stemma more difficult in the case of the Avesta than for other written transmissions. Less conservative manuscripts such as P2, P5 and E10 also complete the missing Avestan text and its PT; D62 only the Avestan text. Surprisingly K2 and T44 do not.

A very long *saut du même au même* appears in K1 and the manuscripts of its family in V7.75.<sup>15</sup> The following Avestan text and its PT are missing:

*biš. frasnāḍaiiēn. maēsmana. gēuš. biš. zəmō. uzdāθaiiēn. āpō. frasnāḍaiiēn. aθa. yaoždaiiēn. āaṭ. yezi. aṇhaṭ. <sup>+</sup>aiiaṇhaēnīš. θriš. frasnāḍaiiēn. maēsmana. gēuš. θriš. zəmō. uzdāθaiiēn. θriš. āpō. frasnāḍaiiēn. aθa. yaoždaiiēn. āaṭ. yezi. aṇhaṭ. <sup>x</sup>haosafnaēnīš. caθruš. frasnāḍaiiēn. maēsmana. gēuš. caθruš. zəmō. uzdāθaiiēn. caθruš. āpō. frasnāḍaiiēn. aθa. yaoždaiiēn. āaṭ. yezi. aṇhaṭ. <sup>x</sup>zarštuaēnīš.*

15 In F10 a supplementary folio is added by a second hand with the missing text.

For this passage we do not have the testimony of L4 (only L4a). It is therefore difficult to decide whether the *saut* happened for the first time in K1 or previously (as in the former examples). The manuscripts E10 and T44 of the family of L4 include this text, but since they show a clear tendency to complete missing texts, their testimony is not conclusive. More significant is the fact that the manuscript G34<sup>16</sup> includes this text too. This manuscript is the only one in the L4 family that does not complete L4's omissions and is probably one of the most trustworthy copies of L4 that we have.

Similarly, there is the omission of the complete paragraph V16.16, in K1 as well as in L4. Again E10 and T44 include the missing text and create a PT for it. In G34 and F10 the Avestan text and the PT appear on the margin.

On some occasions the PT of a sentence and the following Avestan text are omitted. The copyist first copies the Avestan text, and then jumps to the next PT instead of the corresponding one. This is more likely to happen when both Avestan texts have a similar beginning or ending. In these cases it is usually, but not always, a special type of *saut du même au même*. A clear example is the PT of V18.5c and the Avestan text of V18.6a. On this occasion the Avestan texts were similar so confusion could easily arise: indeed in L4 and K1 (we have no information about IM), the PT *of mā. dim. mruiiā. āθrauuānəm. uiti. mraoṭ. ahurō. mazdā. āi. ašaum. zaraθuštra.* and the Avestan text *təm. dim. mruiiā. āθrauuānəm. uiti. mraoṭ. ahurō. mazdā. āi. ašaum. zaraθuštra.* are missing. The reformist manuscripts (K2, P5, G25, E10, T44) complete the Avestan text, but not the PT.

The case of V13.47 is very similar, where the PT of *tqθrō.cinō. yaθa. tāiiuš.* and the following Avestan text *xšapāiiaonō. yaθa. tāiiuš xapišma.xʷarō. yaθa. tāiiuš* are missing both in L4 and K1. Some of the reformist manuscripts include both a PT and the Avestan text:<sup>17</sup> P5, E10, G25 and T44 include the PT; but only E10, G25 and T44 also include the Avestan text.

Exactly the same kind of error is responsible for the lack of PT of *paršta. +aēšməm. paršta. nasūm* and the omission of the Avestan text *paršta. hqm. raēθβəm. paršta. paiti.raēθβəm.* in V11.12. Again the reformist manuscripts E10, P5, K2, and F10 and T44 have completed the Avestan text and the PT in the margin.

In other examples, however, the omitted Avestan text and the Avestan text without translation were not similar. The final sentence of V15.21, *vīspəm. ā. ahmāt. θrāθrəm. kərənauuāt. yaṭ. aēte.* lacks a PT, and the Avestan text of the beginning of V15.22, *yezi. nōiṭ. harəθrəm. baraiti,* is also missing. The PT is completed in K2, P5, D62 (partially) and, surprisingly enough, in B1, but the Avestan text is omitted even in the reformist manuscripts.

Somewhat different and quite puzzling is the case of V18.25. The text found in the PV manuscripts is much shorter than in the Sādes and has no PT. The text

16 This is a manuscript in the Meherji-rana Library (Navsari); it must be dated before 1820. It is available at <http://www.avesta-archive.com>.

17 L4 adds *xšapāiiaonō. yaθa. tāiiuš* and his PT in the margin, perhaps in the same hand. A second hand adds on the top again the PT of *xšapāiiaonō. yaθa. tāiiuš* and the Avestan text *xapišma.xʷarō. yaθa. tāiiuš.*

in the Sādes is as follows (the text missing from the PV manuscripts is underlined):

*mā. θraiiqm. vahištanqm. aiβiθiiō. buiiata. humataheca. manañhō.  
hūxtaheca.  
vacañhō. huuarštaheca. šiiaoθnahe. θraiiqm. acištanqm. aiβiθiiō.  
buiiata. dušmataheca. manañhō. dužūxtaheca. vacañhō. dužuuarštaheca.  
šiiaoθnahe.*

If the PT of the missing Avestan text were to appear, it would be a simple omission of the same kind as the passages mentioned above (V11.12, 13.47, 15.21, 18.5). Thus, perhaps the omission of the PT is due to the fact that Ardašīr Wahman Rōzweh recognized that the transmitted PT was not the PT of the attested Avestan text and skipped the transmitted PT.

Beside the *saut du même au même*, there are other possible reasons for omissions shared by all extant PV manuscripts. Quite often the copyist skips a complete line and continues copying the following line. This is the most likely explanation for the omission of the Avestan text and the PT of V15.13 in L4 and K1. Here the underlined Avestan text is omitted in both L4 and K1:

*yō. kainīnəm. upāiti. stātō.ratūm. vā. astātō.ratūm. vā. paradātqm. vā.  
aparadātqm. vā. puθraqmca. hē. dadāiti.*

The PT of *vā. astātō.ratūm. vā. paradātqm. vā. aparadātqm. vā. puθraqmca. hē. dadāiti.* is also missing in both manuscripts. Since the PT is omitted in both V15.15 and 15.18, the PT of this repeated text was most likely shortened, although there is no abbreviation sign. The Avestan text *astātō.ratūm. vā. paradātqm. vā* most probably filled a line, as one can see in L4 at V15.15, and this line was skipped by the copyist of one of the common sources of L4 and K1. Later manuscripts have mostly completed the missing Avestan words (B1, M3, P10, P2, D62, P5, K2, E10, T44), but the PT appears only in P5, K2 and T44.<sup>18</sup>

The case of V5.23 is very instructive. A copyist (Ardaxšīr Wahman Rōzweh or Homāst Wahišt) of an ancestor of L4 and K1 has skipped one line. He notices it, adds the deletion dots to the text copied wrongly and copies the skipped line after the deleted text. The text of its original was probably:

*yaθa. zraiiō. vouru.kašəm. upairi. aniiā. āpō. \*\*  
cygwn zlyh p'hwkrt QDM MN ZK ZK'y MYA \*\*  
mqnaiiən. bā. \*\* cygwn npšt'. \*\* yaθa  
masiiaiiā. āfš. kasiiāyqm. āpəm. auui.frāduuauite.*

18 Other examples of omissions of complete lines in the common ancestor of all our PV manuscripts could be: 9.46 *yaθa. vā. nəmatō. tarō. yārə;* V13.8 *vohunazgqmca. draxtō.hunaranqmca;* 13.48 *aiti.šē. haēm. yaθa. apərənāiīukahe;* 14.1 *hazayrāiš. sūniš. nairiiō.nāmanō;* 15.22 *yaṭ. nōiṭ. harəθrəm. baraiiti.*

After the scribal errors (skipping a line, adding of the deletion dots and repetition of the wrongly copied fragment) the text in the copy of this manuscript was:

*yaθa. zraiiō. vouru.kašəm. upairi. aniiā. āpō.  
mānaiiən. bā. cygwn npšt' cygwn zlyh pl'hwkrt  
QDM MN ZK ZK'y MYA mānaiiən. bā. yaθa  
masiiaiiā. āfš. kasiianhqm. āpəm. auui.frādauiate.*

A later copyist (Ardaxšīr Wahman Rōzweh or Mihrābān Kayxōsrō) misses the deletion dots and copies the complete text without the dots. In fact, deletion dots are very often overlooked by later copyists (several examples can be found in this paper). This situation is reflected in the copies of L4 as T44, where the following text appears:

*yaθa. zairiiō. vauru.kašəm. upairi. aniiā. āpō.  
mānaiiən. bā. \*\* cygwn. npšt. wwšt. cygwn. zl'y. pl'hw.  
krt. QDM. MN. ZK y. ZK'y. MYA \*\* mānaiiən. bā. \*\* yaθa.  
masiiaiiā. āfš. kasiianhqm. apəm. auui.frāiauu  
aite.*

as well as in the copies of K1 and B1:

*... yaθa. zaraaiiō.  
vouru.kašəm. upairi. aniiā. āpō.  
mānaiiən. bā. \*\* cygwn nšt cygwn zl'y y pl'hw  
krt QDM MN ZK' ZKny MYA \*\* mānaiiən. bā.  
yaθa. masaiiaiiā. āfš. kasaṇ  
həm. apəm. auui.frāiauuaiti*

F10 has corrected the transmitted text, deleting the additional *mānaiiən. bā* and adding the abbreviated Avestan text *spitama. zaraθuštra. aētem. dātəm. yim. vidōiūm. zaraθuštri. upairi. aniiāiš. sruuāiš. masanaca. vaṇhanaca. sraiiianaca* and its PT.

A similar error is found in some Sādes in V3.41, but it is far more complicated. The text *spaiieti. yātuynīm* appears in the Iranian and in the Indian Sādes, but not either in L4 or in the conservative copies of K1. The absence of this text in the PV manuscripts led Geldner to omit it. The Sādes show two different variants of the text that do not appear in the PV manuscripts:

A	B
<i>spaiieti. yātuynīm</i>	<i>spaiieiti draošəm</i>
	<i>(spaiieiti.) auuaynīm</i>
	<i>spaiieiti. yātuynīm</i>
	<i>spaiieiti ašauuaynīm</i>

Variant A appears in the Iranian Sādes, represented by Mf2, K9, and in some Indian Sādes such as T46, B2, L1, P1. Variant B, including *(spaiieiti.)*

*auuaynīm*, appears in the following Indian Sādes: G42, B4, L2, E4, L5. Among the group showing variant B the most interesting is L5. It does not add *spaiieti. auuaynīm*, but only *auuayanəm*, without *spaiieiti*. This gives us the key to understanding how this new text, *spaiieti. auuaynīm*, was created. It appears neither in the Iranian Sādes nor in the oldest Indian Sādes, but is the result of a transmission error within the Indian Sādes. We must imagine a Sāde manuscript with the following line divisions:

*daēna. māzdaiiasniš. narš. āstauua  
nahe. baṇḍəm. spaiieite. draoṣəm.  
spaiieite. yātuynīm. spaiieiti. aš  
auuaynīm. spaiieite. nasuspaēm.*

A copyist has skipped a complete line and has copied *auuaynīm* after *draoṣəm*. He notices his mistake, marks *auuaynīm* with deletion dots and copies the skipped text: *spaiieite. yātuynīm. spaiieiti. ašauuaynīm*. A later copyist misses the deletion dots (once more) and the resulting text is: *spaiieite. draoṣəm. auuaynīm spaiieite. yātuynīm. spaiieiti. ašauuaynīm*. In fact, L5 shows a very similar division of lines:

After a copyist has missed the deletion marks and also copied *auuaynīm*, the resulting text is corrected by another copyist through the addition of *spaiieti*, considered necessary between *draoṣəm* and *auuaynīm*. Consequently, it is obvious that all Avestan manuscripts showing variant B (G42, B4, L2, E4, L5) go back to the same manuscript, and that the manuscripts with *spaiieiti* between *draoṣəm* and *auuaynīm* belong to a subgroup within this family (L2, G42, E4, B4).<sup>19</sup>

However, the presence of *spaiieti. yātuynīm* in the Sādes remains indisputable. There are at least two possible interpretations of *yātuynīm*:

1. It is a correct form meaning “the killing through sorcery”, although a type of compound different from the parallel formations *ašauuayniia-* and *vərəθrayniia*.
2. It is a transmission error for *spaiieti. yātūm* “it casts off sorcery”, formed after *spaiieiti ašauuaynīm* (perhaps still at the time of the oral transmission).

Its absence from the PV manuscripts can again be easily attributed to a *saut du même au même* in the common source of all PV manuscripts (as we have seen previously). Therefore, this text should be included in the editions of the Avestan text of Vīdēvdād. As in other cases, some late manuscripts add the missing text.

19 Note that at least L2 and G42 are older than L5. Therefore L5 is not the source for this subgroup, but a copy of the source for the variant in L2, G42, etc.



Their dependence on the Sādes is evident from the fact that some PV manuscripts add only the Avestan text *spaiieiti. yātuṇm* (K2, P5, E10), while others (F10, R1,<sup>20</sup> T44 [in the margin by a second hand]) also include *spaiieiti. auuaṇm*. For the latter, a dependence on a Sāde manuscript belonging to group B is certain.

The comparison with the Sādes again allowed the omission to be noticed, and the reformist manuscripts added the missing Avestan text (sometimes *spaiieiti. yātuṇm* and sometimes *spaiieiti. auuaṇm spaiieiti. yātuṇm*). In some manuscripts a new PT for these additions was invented. The Avestan text *spaiieiti. yātuṇm* without PT appears in E10. The same Avestan text, but with a PT, appears in K2 (second hand) and P5:

*spaiieiti*<sup>21</sup> *yātu.ṇəm*.<sup>22</sup> LMYTWNyt y'twk gnnyh<sup>23</sup>

The longer Avestan text with *spaiieiti. auuaṇm* appears in F10 and T44 (in the margin), as well as a (newly created) PT:

*spaiieiti*.<sup>24</sup> *auuaṇəm*<sup>25</sup> LMYTWNyt 'ytwn MHYTWNTnyh [y HNA<sup>26</sup> d'nnd AYK PWN KRA MNDWM-l nywk<sup>27</sup> znyh kwnm 'm klpk<sup>28</sup> LA YBLWNm<sup>29</sup> BRA HNA<sup>30</sup> d'nnd AYKš hdyb'lyh] *spaiieiti*.<sup>31</sup> *yātuṇm*.<sup>32</sup> LMYTWNyt y'twk<sup>33</sup> MHYTWNTn<sup>34</sup> *spaiieiti*.<sup>35</sup> *auuaṇəm*. It casts off the sin of so-killing [they know that (when) I do kill for something right, I don't carry out a good deed, but they know that it is a help for him.] *spaiieiti*.<sup>36</sup> *yātuṇm* It casts off the killing of a wizard.

The similarity between the translations makes it obvious that both manuscripts belong to the same school of reformist copyists in Navsari, although T44 and F10 probably do not belong to the same family.<sup>37</sup>

The omission in V19.45 is very peculiar. In the Sādes the Avestan text is as follows:

20 Manuscript in the KRCOI, see Dhabhar (1917: 135).

21 K2 *spaiieta*.

22 K2 *yātu.ṇəm*.

23 K2 ytwgnnk. Probably a transmission error for y'twk MHYTWNTnyh.

24 F10 *spaiiata*.

25 F10 *auua. ṇəm*.

26 F10 H.

27 T44 omits nywk.

28 T44 adds here BRA HNA, but deleted it.

29 F10 has BRA HNA d'nnd AYKš hdyb'lyh in the margin.

30 F10 omits HNA.

31 F10 *spaiiata*; T44 *spaiiaēti*.

32 F10 *yātō. ṇəm*; T44 *yātuṇəm*.

33 T44 y'twkyh.

34 T44 MHYTWnyt.

35 F10 *spaiiata*; T44 *spaiieti*.

36 F10 *spaiiata*.

37 As pointed out by M. A. Andrés (2009) and despite Cantera (2007).

*aduuarənta. adāuṇta. daēuua. druuaṇtō. duždāñhō. uruθrīm. adāuṇta. daēuua. druuaṇtō. duždāñhō. aq̄m. daoθrīm. dāuṇta. daēuua. druuaṇtō. duždāñhō*

The underlined Avestan text is missing in K1 and L4 and also the PT of the Avestan text (bold). The text we have runs in K1 (L4 is similar) as follows:

*aduuarənta. adāuṇta. daēuua. druuaṇtō. duždāñhō. aq̄m. daoθrīm dāuṇta. daēuua. druuaṇtō \* dw'lyt HWE-d AP-š'n dwst ŠDYA gwšn PWN MNDWM OLE-š'n SLYT-l YHWWN-t' y ŠDYA-ʾn dlwnd'n' dwšd'n'k'n \**

The underlined Avestan text was omitted because of a *saut du même au même*. The PT seems to have been poorly adapted to the Avestan text after this error happened within the written transmission of the PV manuscripts. During the process some mistakes occurred and not every detail is absolutely clear.

It is interesting that most of the PV manuscripts restore missing Avestan texts appearing in the Sādes, but do not do so systematically. Only reformist manuscripts such as K2, P5, F10, P2, D62, E10 and T44 show a clear tendency to fill all the gaps: missing Avestan texts and missing PT. Although all extant manuscripts belonging to the reformist schools pertain to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, sometimes we find evidence that the changes go back to at least two earlier copies. Unfortunately, we are not able to estimate the date of these earlier copies with any certainty.

Even conservative manuscripts such as B1, M3 and P10 sometimes complete missing texts and do not limit themselves to producing trustworthy reproductions of their originals. A clear example: these three manuscripts complete *vispəm. ā. ahmāt. yaṭ. hē. paṇca. xšafna. sacānte. yezi. nāirika. vohunīš. aiβi. vaēnāt. yaṭ. hē. paṇca. xšafna. sacānte. airime. gātūm. hē. nišhidaēta* in V16.8–9, missing in L4 and K1. B1 sometimes even completes the missing PT, as is the case in V15.21, where it adds the PT of *vispəm. ā. ahmāt. θrāθrəm. kərənauuāt. yaṭ. aēte*. Concerning L4 and K1, since we are not able to collate their original, it is impossible to know if they complete missing texts as well. The change of Phl. ŠDYA to *daēuuō* in V19.41 shows, however, that Mihrābān Kayxōsrō did not limit himself to reproducing the original, but corrected the transmitted text to some extent.

## Lost in transmission?

In the cases discussed above it is clear that the differences between the text transmitted in the Sādes and that in the PV manuscripts are due to transmission errors, mostly in the PV manuscripts but sometimes also in the Sādes. In other passages, however, we are unsure whether it is a transmission error or something else. It is theoretically possible that these differences can be attributed to the fact that the Sāde and PV manuscripts are based on different versions of the Avestan text of Vīdēvdād.

As Kellens (1998) has shown, the Avesta has been transmitted since Sasanian times in two different and largely independent collections: the Great Avesta

consisting of 21 nasks, and the ritual Avesta, a collection of the texts recited in different rituals. The Vīdēvdād is the only Avestan text included in its actual form in both the ritual Avesta and in the Great Avesta. The collection of the ritual Avesta could be continued in the Sāde manuscripts that evidently reproduce a ritual text. The PV manuscripts could continue the Vīdēvdād Nask, since they included the PT as the Nasks of the Great Avesta are supposed to have done (Cantera 2004: 13 ff.). It is therefore theoretically possible that some differences between the texts in both independent written traditions (Sāde and PV manuscripts) were due to the fact that there have been two different versions of the Avestan text since Sasanian times. It is not my intention here to discuss all the possible implications of the problem of two possible different versions of the Avestan text of Vīdēvdād, but I would like to make some remarks necessary to the discussion of the omitted texts in the PV manuscripts that cannot easily be attributed to the written transmission.

First, as pointed out by Humbach (1973), the Avestan text of the PV and the Sāde manuscripts share some errors which can be attributed to the written transmission. The most significant is V15.49–50. It is obvious that V15.50 is a repetition of V15.49, but is more accurate than V15.49. Hence Humbach deduces that one copyist made several mistakes copying the original text of V15.49, noticed them, copied the text again (V15.50) and deleted the first copy with the usual almost invisible deletion dots. A later scribe overlooked the deletions and copied both texts. Since the repetition of the paragraphs is found in the Sādes and the Pahlavi manuscripts, and the PV manuscripts also include a PT for the repeated text, Humbach deduces that the PT was added after this mistake appeared in the written transmission.<sup>38</sup> In fact there are other possible interpretations of this obvious error. The principal difference between V15.49 and 50 is that *jaiṇti* and *kā. hē. asti. ciθa* are missing in V15.49:

15.49

*yō. gaδβqm. yqm. apuθraqm. θraiiqm.  
bāuzdri. barəθrica. puθrāca.  
paēmānica. aiiatāca. taēca.  
aētadaca. puθrəm. baraiti. sūnqm.  
bāuzdri.*

15.50

*dātarə. yō. gaδβqm. jaiṇti. yqm.  
apuθraqm. θraiiqm. bāuzdri. barəθrica.  
puθrāca. paēmānica. aiiatāca. taēca.  
aētadaca. puθrəm. baraiti. sūnqm.  
bāuzdri. kā. hē. asti. ciθa.*

The PT does not translate *jaiṇti* in V15.50 in either L4 or K1. The PT of V15.50 seems to be a reproduction of V15.49, although the translation of *kā. hē. asti. ciθa* is added. This is difficult to explain within the framework of Humbach's hypothesis. The error in transmission was probably different from Humbach's hypothesis. The original text in the PV manuscripts seems to be V15.49. In the Sāde manuscripts the correct text probably appeared, that is, V15.50, but at some point in the written transmission (before the thirteenth century) a common version of the Avestan text was established for both traditions. During this process both versions of the text were integrated in the common version of the

38 The rest of the evidence Humbach produced consists of small omissions of one or two words in the text of the Sādes and the PV manuscripts, such as the omission of *imaṭ. masiiō* in V5.22 *imaṭ. vañhō. imaṭ. sraiō.*

Avestan text of Vīdēvdād. In any case, the fact that both types of manuscripts share this very strange transmission error means that the Avestan text of the Sādes and PV manuscripts is exactly the same. It could be the result of the adaptation of the PT to the Avestan text of the Sādes or the result of a collation of two different versions of the Avestan text,<sup>39</sup> but in any case the differences of both versions (if there were any) are definitively lost for us.

Since the Avestan text in the PV manuscripts and the Sādes goes back to the same written source or is the result of a collation, it is difficult to know how different the Avestan text of the Vīdēvdād Nask and of the ritual Avesta were before the joining of both traditions. At present, only a few remarks can be made. Although the Dēnkard 8 is evidently describing the Vīdēvdād Nask, and not the Vīdēvdād ritual, the description reflects quite accurately the Vīdēvdād text we know. Some parts of the transmitted text are not mentioned in the Dēnkard:

- the long description of the sins and their penalties in V4.17–55;
- 6.42–50 about the contamination of haoma through a corpse and about the exposure of the corpse;
- 7.16–22 purification of the clothes of the menstruating woman (=5.57–62);
- 7.28–31 purification of firewood;
- the first description of the *baršnūm* in 8.35–72;
- the first part of V10;
- the whole V12;
- the beginning of V13 (V13.1–7) about the creatures of Ahura Mazdā and of Anra Mainiiu;
- the whole V21.

It is difficult to decide whether the lack of a description is a consequence of the different form of the Vīdēvdād Nask or the result of the fact that the description was not exhaustive. We have only stated a few problems during the process of adaptation of the Pahlavi translation to the common Avestan text. If the differences between the two versions had been greater, these difficulties would probably have remained recognizable. If these long fragments of the Vīdēvdād were not included in the Vīdēvdād Nask and accordingly there was not an old PT for them, it is difficult to imagine that at the time of the joining of both versions the priests would have been able to compose new PT that could not be differentiated from the old ones. Therefore, although we do not have certain evidence, I suggest that the differences between the Avestan text of the Vīdēvdād Nask and of the ritual Vīdēvdād were not quite as great at the end of the Sasanian age. Nevertheless, we must accept the possibility of some differences.

### Omissions in V11.9 and 12

The problems found in V11.9 and 12 are intricate, as the comparison between the text in the Sādes and in L4 and K1 shows. The Avestan texts without PT

39 This would also explain the addition of some Avestan glosses in the commentaries of the PT on the Avestan text of the Sādes. This addition did not happen at once, but was a gradual process. We shall deal with this elsewhere.

are underlined, and the Avestan texts of the Sādes missing in the PV manuscripts are in bold type;<sup>40</sup>

## V11.9

/a/ *pərāne. <sup>x</sup>aēšmām. pərāne. nasūm.* /b/ *pərāne. hqm.raēθβām. pərāne. paiti.raēθβām.* /c/ *pərāne. xrū. pərāne. xruuiyṇi. pərāne. būidi. pərāne. <sup>+</sup>būidija. pərāne. kuṇdi. pərāne. <sup>x</sup>kuṇdija. pərāne. <sup>+</sup>būšiiqsta. yā. zairina.* /d/ *pərāne. <sup>+</sup>būšiiqsta. yā. darəγō.gauua.* /e/ ***pərāne. mūidi. pərāne. kapastīš.*** /f/ *pərāne. pairikām. yā. āiti. ātrām. āpām. zqm. gqm. <sup>+</sup>uruuārā.* /g/ *pərāne. āhitīm. yā. āiti. ātrām. āpām. zqm. gqm. uruuārā.*

## V11.12

/a/ *paršta. <sup>+</sup>aēšmām. paršta. nasūm.* /b/ ***paršta. hqm.raēθβām. paršta. paiti.raēθβām.*** /c/ *paršta. xrū. paršta. xruuiyṇi. paršta. būidi. paršta. <sup>x</sup>būidija. paršta. kuṇdi. paršta. <sup>x</sup>kuṇdija. paršta. <sup>+</sup>būšiiqsta. yā. zairina.* /d/ *paršta. <sup>+</sup>būšiiqsta. yā. darəγō.gauua.* /e/ *paršta. mūidi. paršta. kapastīš.* /f/ *paršta. pairikām. yā. āiti. ātrām. āpām. zqm. gqm. <sup>+</sup>uruuārā.* /g/ *paršta. āhitīm. yā. āiti. ātrām. āpām. zqm. gqm. uruuārā.*

This text shows two important peculiarities:

- The fragment with the peculiar direct objects of *pərāne* and *paršta* in V11.9b and 12b clearly grouped in pairs (*xrū* – *xruuiyṇi*; *būidi* – *būidija* and *kuṇdi* – *kuṇdija*) does not show PT in the PV manuscripts in either of the two passages. That the PT should be lost in both passages independently because of a transmission error seems too unlikely.
- The fragments with *mūidi* and *kapastīš* as objects of *pərāne* and *paršta* lack the PT in both passages. The Avestan text is missing in V11.9, but not in V11.12.

Since the missing Avestan text in V11.9e appears in V11.12e, it is obvious that its omission is the result of a transmission error. It is more difficult to decide the true status of the parts of these paragraphs lacking a PT in both passages. The problem concerns the following fragment:

*pərāne. xrū. pərāne. xruuiyṇi. pərāne. būidi. pərāne. <sup>+</sup>būidija. pərāne. kuṇdi. pərāne. <sup>x</sup>kuṇdija. pərāne. <sup>+</sup>būšiiqsta. yā. zairina.* |d| *pərāne. <sup>+</sup>būšiiqsta. yā. darəγō.gauua.* |e| *pərāne. mūidi. pərāne. kapastīš.*

Since the PT is missing in two passages, it is unlikely that it has been lost during the written transmission. In fact, only the words that are not *hapax legomena* (*būšiiqsta. yā. darəγō.gauua* and *būšiiqsta. yā. zairina.*) are translated. Thus the question arises about the reasons for the lack of a PT for these words. One possibility is that the Avestan text was introduced after the adaptation of the PT to the Avestan text of the Sādes, but in my opinion we can rule out the possibility that after the adaptation of the PT to the Avestan texts of the Sādes, between the tenth and the twelfth century, new Avestan texts were created

40 Quoted from Andrés-Toledo's dissertation (2009).

ex nihilo and included in Vīdēvdād.<sup>41</sup> Thus only two likely explanations remain:

1. The text alien to the PV transmission appeared only in the Sāde recension of the Avestan text, which continues the ritual recension of Vīdēvdād. Accordingly, it lacks a PT for this text. During the process of adaptation of both recensions it was only possible to create a PT for the known words, but not for the rest. So these were left untranslated.
2. These difficult words were left untranslated from the very beginning in the PT, since the Sassanian exegetes were not able to translate them. A similar case is found in the PT of Yasna in Y10.11 (Cantera 2004: 10). There we find several *hapax legomena* describing the places where *haoma* grows up: *auui. staēra starō.sāra auui kusrāda kusrō.patāda auui paβrāna višpaḍa auui spita.gaona. gairi*. These words are left untranslated. In contrast to V11.9 and 12, here the translator has mentioned specifically that there is no PT available for these words: *ēn wāzag azand zand nē guft nām ī ān kōfihā ud daštīhā kē-š hōm andar rust ēstād* “There is no translation for these words. The translation did not mention the names of the mountains and plains where *hōm* grows up”.

### The thorny problem of V12

*Fragard* 12 of Vīdēvdād is missing in the old PV manuscripts. During the eighteenth century some PV manuscripts included it and a PT was created for it (see Andrés-Toledo 2009). Theoretically there are at least two possible explanations for the absence of V12 in the PV manuscripts:

1. V12 was not included in the Vīdēvdād Nask and therefore did not have a PT. Accordingly this *fragard* was not included in the PV manuscripts.
2. *Fragard* 12 also appeared in the PV manuscripts, but it was lost in the extant copies. *Fragard* 12 would be lost during the transmission of PV manuscripts like the other examples quoted above.

The main argument for the first hypothesis is that in the description of Vīdēvdād found in Dēnkard 8, the contents of *fragard* 12 are not explicitly mentioned. After a synopsis of V9.47–57 and before the description of V13 (actually, V13.8 ff.), we find only the following description in the Denkart (Dk8.44.51–52):

QDM pylwcglyh yt’y’hwkwylywk’ PWN dlwc’ zt’lyh W byš’cynyt’lyh  
About the victory of the Yaθāhūwēryō in smiting the Lie and in healing.

Traditionally it is thought that in this short sentence V10 and 11 are described, but it does not cover these two chapters well. The power of the Ahuna Vairiia is

41 There are some indications that at least part of this text could be a secondary addition. Since the passage is a formulaic list, it is easy to add new elements every time adding only a new direct object to the verb. The pairs *xrū – xruuiyini*; *būdi – būdija* and *kuṇdi – kuṇdija* are likely to be new creations. This statement is less probable for *mūdi* and *kapastīš*. Notice that precisely in the problematic passage in V11.9 all the direct objects are ungrammatical, since none of them is in the accusative. The remaining direct objects of the paragraph are correct.

praised in V10.11–20 together with the power of the rest of the prayers to be recited four times during a recitation of the Gāθās, but there is no mention of the Ahuna Variia in V10.1–10. In V11 the purification of different elements is described, each purification involving the recitation of the Ahuna Vairia a certain number of times. Accordingly, the sentence in the Dēnkard corresponds perfectly with the contents of V11 and only partially with the contents of the second part of V10, but V12 does not fit this description. However, it is not possible to conclude, as noted by Darmesteter (1892–93 2.185), that V12 did not exist in the version of Vīdēvdād available to the authors of the Dēnkard description. There are several parts of Vīdēvdād, even longer than V12, which are also not mentioned in the description of the Dēnkard. In fact, the closest parallel to V12 is the lack of mention of V21. Apparently the mention of the Airiama Išiia that appears at the end of the three paragraphs was considered sufficient as a description of the block of the three last *fragards*. The inclusion of V10–12 under the umbrella of the mention of the Ahuna Vairia could be a good parallel. Consequently, the description of the Dēnkard is not enough to demonstrate that V12 was not part of the Vīdēvdād Nask, although it does not exclude this possibility.

One of the main arguments for attributing V12 also to the PV manuscripts, and for imputing its loss to the written transmission, is the numeration of the *fragards*. In the PV manuscripts the numeration of the *fragards* is the same as in the Sādes, i.e. V12 does not appear after V11, but the next *fragard* bears the indication *fragard sizdahom* (thirteenth *fragard*). This could in fact be the result of an adaptation process of the PV recension to the VS recension: the numeration of the Sādes was taken over in the PV manuscripts.

A further strong argument for the presence of V12 in the Vīdēvdād Nask and the existence of a lost PT is a puzzling gloss that appears in V12.7 in all Sāde manuscripts after the regular text:<sup>42</sup>

- [a] *āaṭ. yaṭ. nmānō.paitiš. para.iriṭiieiti. nmānō.paṭni. vā. para.iriṭiieiti.*  
 [b] *cuuaṭ. +aēšqm. +upa.maṇaiiaṇ. cuuaṭ. +daṇanqm. cuuaṭ. tanu.*  
*pərəṭanqm. [c] āaṭ. mraoṭ. ahurō. mazdā. +xšuuāš. mājḥō.*  
*+daṇanqm. duuadasa. tanu.pərəṭanqm. [kainīnō. x<sup>v</sup>atō. puṭrəm.]*  
 [a] “And when the master of the house dies or the mistress of the house dies, [b] how long should they wait for them (before entering the house)? How long for the pious? How long for the tanū.pərəṭa- sinners?”  
 [c] And Ahura Mazdā said: “Six months for the pious, twelve for the tanū. pərəṭa- sinners” [kainīnō. x<sup>v</sup>atō. puṭrəm.]

Since the words *kainīnō. x<sup>v</sup>atō. puṭrəm* do not make sense here, Darmesteter (1892–93 2.185, 189), and recently M. A. Andrés Toledo (2009), propose that they belonged originally to an Avestan quotation in the PT that has found its way into Sāde-mss. as is often the case. Thus this gloss would prove the existence of a PT of V12 that is now lost.

Accordingly, the absence of V12 would be the result of a loss of folios during the written transmission of the PV manuscripts, similar to the losses described

42 Cited after M. A. Andrés-Toledo (2009).



previously (see Darmesteter). Such a loss, however, is not directly comparable with the others. Usually one folio, one line or a fragment with a similar beginning or ending is lost, while here a complete *fragard* is missing. In the older manuscripts (e.g. L4, K1) *fragards* follow on immediately at the end of the previous one and do not begin with a new folio. There is never a blank at the end of a *fragard*. It is therefore very unlikely that V12 began with a new folio and also ended precisely at the end of another folio, and that these folios were lost by chance: their accidental loss would have been the result of a very unlikely combination of infrequent factors. Hence, the absence of V12 in the PV manuscripts should not be explained as an accidental loss in the transmission of the PV manuscripts;<sup>43</sup> at the very least we should look for alternative, more likely, explanations.

Consequently, if the gloss were really an Avestan quotation taken from a now lost PT, we face a perplexing question. In Geldner's view Avestan quotations of the PT got into the Sādes while "separating the Avesta text from its Pahlavi setting". The Sāde manuscripts were extracted from the PV manuscripts and during this process "several mistakes may have been made by the compiler of the Vendidad sâda, namely in cases where the text was abridged and he tried to complete it" (Prolegomena, xviii). A slightly different proposal was made by Humbach (1973) and Kellens (1998). The text of the Sādes was not excerpted from a version with PT, but the PT was added to a Sāde manuscript. All the extant Sādes go back to this manuscript which also includes the PT. This explains how the Avestan quotations of the PT could have crept into the Avestan text of the Sādes. This model must be reconsidered, since it is not obvious that all the Avesta quotations entered into the text of the Sāde at the same time. Notwithstanding, if the Avestan quotations crept into the text of the Sāde during the written transmission, then the only possible explanation is the most unlikely accidental loss of *fragard* V12 in Ardašīr Wahman Rōzweh or a former copy.

If we do not accept the very unlikely accidental loss of the folios of V12, then either *kainīnō. x<sup>v</sup>atō. puθrēm* does not belong to the lost PT or Avestan quotations of the PT could have been introduced into ritual text before the merging of the ritual and Great Avesta versions. There are possible arguments against the interpretation of these words as an Avestan quotation extracted from the PT, although they are certainly not compelling. There is not a single quotation of an Avestan text in the related *fragards* 10–11, but the slightly different theme of V12 could explain why some Avestan quotations could appear there. In fact, they appear, for example, in V13. The prescriptions on the procedure with the house where someone is deceased could have originated a long commentary with Avestan quotations. Besides, Avestan quotations usually creep into the Avestan text because of their closeness to the Avestan text, but this is not the case in V12.7.

Thus it is possible that this text is not an Avestan quotation from the lost PT, but an Avestan gloss. From V12.1 to V12.5 the question is: how long should a relative wait before entering the house when a relative has died in that house.

43 West (1892: 161) was of the same opinion.

The times vary depending on kinship degree: 12.1 father–son, mother–daughter; 12.3 son–father, daughter–mother; 12.5. brother–brother, sister–sister. After 12.7–8, the same pattern continues: 12.9 grandfather–grandson, grandmother–granddaughter; 12.11 grandson–grandfather, granddaughter–grandmother; 12.13 uncle–nephew, aunt–niece, etc. Only in V12.7 is the question not about a relative but about the master or mistress of the house. Perhaps an Avestan gloss was introduced in order to interpret this passage in terms of kinship like the others: young mother–son (maybe in case of an abortion, see V15.11). The presence of Avestan glosses that are not part of the PT is indeed a well-known phenomenon in the Vīdēvdād. Just two examples of the V19 are the words *narō. aṇhən. aṣauuanō* (V19.19) and *daēuua. hqm.raēθṛaiieiti* (V19.20). Although attractive, the interpretation of *kainīnō. x<sup>v</sup>atō. puθrəm* as an Avestan quotation from the PT is not the only possibility.

If V12 were in fact not lost accidentally during the written transmission of the PV manuscripts, its omission would be the only significant difference we could observe between the Avestan text of the Sādes and of the PV manuscripts. But even if V12 were missing from the Vīdēvdād Nask, we still have to explain its absence from the PV manuscripts, if, as we have already mentioned, the Avestan text of the Sāde and PV manuscripts is the same and even shows some errors that occurred during the written transmission. We have stated that the Avestan text of both manuscript types goes back to the same written source, or that two different written sources have been collated in order to produce a “common” version. How can we explain then the omission of V12, if we exclude the possibility of a loss in transmission after the shaping of a common Avestan version for Sāde and PV manuscripts?

In my opinion, the only possible explanation is that there was no Pahlavi translation of V12 at the time of the process of adaptation of the Pahlavi translation of Vīdēvdād to the “common” version of the Avestan text. Consequently the Avestan text of V12 was not included in the PV manuscripts during the process of adaptation. It is likely that other minor differences between the Avestan text of the Sādes and the PV manuscripts, such as the repetition of V15.49, could easily be restored. In the case of V15.49–50, the PT of V15.49 was repeated again. On the other hand, longer (or more difficult) Avestan texts could not be restored (or the exegetes were not willing to restore them). This could also explain why in V11.9 and 12 a series of Avestan words were left untranslated, as stated above, since the adaptors of the Pahlavi translation to the new common Avestan text were not able to translate the numerous *hapax legomena*. In the case of V12 the adaptor apparently preferred to leave out the untranslated Avestan text instead of maintaining such a long text untranslated or inventing a new translation.

This apparent solution raises a new question. Why was there no translation for V12? One possible explanation is that the Avestan text of V12 was not included in the Vīdēvdād Nask, but only in the ritual Vīdēvdād. As we stated at the beginning of this section, although minor differences between the versions are not to be excluded, great differences between the two versions of the Avestan text do not seem very likely. Even if we accept two quite different versions of the Avestan text (the ritual Vīdēvdād and the Vīdēvdād Nask), it is not easy to explain why *fragard* 12 was not included in the

Vīdēvdād Nask, since the nasks divided into *fragards* usually have 22 *fragards* and not 21.

Under these circumstances we should look for alternative explanations. V12 creates difficulties for all readers of Vīdēvdād, not just because of its absence from the PV manuscripts. It does not fit well into the general structure of Vīdēvdād. After the description of the *baršnūm* (V9) come the formulae used in this ceremony (V10) and later, similar, formulae for the purification of other elements (V11). The inclusion of V12, about the length of time a house is impure after the death of an inhabitant is here only justified by the mention of the house among the elements which are purified with the formulae mentioned in V11. In fact, the Vīdēvdād part about the Nasuš is finished in V8. Thus, it is not unlikely that in the exegetical schools the Sasanian exegetes (or at least some of them) did not accept the authenticity of this *fragard* and did not create or keep transmitting the Pahlavi translation. The refusal to include V12 in the Vīdēvdād Nask could also be the result of the council establishing the canonical version of the PT of Vīdēvdād at the time of Xōsrō (Cantera 2004: 160 f.). In any case the exclusion of V12 from the Vīdēvdād Nask in the exegetical schools did not affect the ritual collection, since at that time they were already completely independent canons.

As a consequence, when the Avestan text of the ritual Avesta and of the Vīdēvdād Nask were collated in order to make a common version and to create new PV manuscripts adapting the PT to the new version of the Avestan text, a PT of V12 was not available. At that time (between the tenth and the twelfth centuries) the compilers of the common version did not feel competent enough (or were not willing) to produce a new PT.<sup>44</sup> Hence *fragard* 12 was not included in the PV manuscripts.

In summary, it is my opinion that the absence of V12 in the PV manuscripts cannot be attributed to a loss of pages during written transmission. Since the Avestan text in the Sādes and the PV manuscripts certainly share a common recension, the only explanation for the absence of V12 in the PV manuscripts is the absence of a PT for it. There are many possible reasons for this absence. First, we could conceive of a different version of the Avestan text in the Vīdēvdād Nask that does not include V12. Nevertheless, the description of Dēnkard shows that the differences between the Vīdēvdād Nask and our version of Vīdēvdād were not enormous. Also, the fact that there were not too many difficulties in adapting the PT to the new common version of the Avestan text suggests that the differences were not too great. Moreover, it is not easy to imagine why V12 should be absent from the Vīdēvdād Nask since in the Great Avesta there are usually 22 *fragards* in works divided up that way. Therefore we might speculate about the possibility that the absence of a PT for V12 is due to a voluntary decision of the Sasanian exegetes.

44 M. A. Andrés remarks that at that time some new translations were produced and that it would have been possible to create a new translation for V12. In fact, new translations were probably composed as late as the twelfth century, but in these translations of the Xwardag Abastāg the old exegetical tradition is already lost and the productions of that time are not to be compared with the old translations.

The fact that all known PV manuscripts derive from a single copy results in transmission errors from this common source slipping into all extant PV manuscripts, hence the importance of the Sādes for the edition of the Avestan text of Vīdēvdād. Geldner was, unfortunately, too confident in the quality of the PV manuscripts. Furthermore, it is obvious that the binding of the common source of all extant PV manuscripts was damaged in the thirteenth century or even before. Some folios became displaced and some were lost. The Avestan text of the lost folios can be reconstructed with the help of the Sāde manuscripts, but not the Pahlavi translation. When in some late manuscripts translations of such texts appear it is the result of a “philological” movement in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. On the other hand, the displacements of some folios were reproduced in the oldest manuscripts and partially rearranged in the “philological” modern manuscripts. As a consequence of such displacement, errors in the edition of the PT are frequent among modern editors.

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